

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 RSR-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02

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USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 /155 W
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P R 251604 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8562

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 332

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 3415

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING - HIGHLIGHTS - 25 APRIL 1973

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP MEETING ON 25 APRIL HEARD
REPORTS OF US BILATERALS WITH SOVIETS AND ROMANIANS AND
THEN MOVED TO DISCUSSION OF FUTURE WORK PROGRAM ON CONTINGENCY
THAT NAC APPROVES SOVIET PARTICIPATION PROPOSAL. GROUP DISCUSSED
PLACEMENT AND STATUS OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS RELATIVE TO
PROCEDURES PAPER. CONSENSUS WAS THAT STATEMENTS SHOULD, IF
POSSIBLE, HAVE EQUAL STANDING WITH PROCEDURES PAPER. GROUP
CONSENSUS ALSO THAT UNILATERAL WESTERN STATEMENT SHOULD BE
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ISSUED BY DIRECT AND NOT SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. DISCUSSION OF HOW TO HANDLE AGENDA WITH THE EAST WAS INCONCLUSIVE, BUT MAJORITY FAVORED BEGINNING WITH ORTHODOX PRESENTATION OF WESTERN POSITION WITH OPTION OF FALLING BACK TO ATTEMPT TO GET SINGLE DESIGNATION OF SUBJECT MATTER IN LIEU OF FULL AGENDA. GROUP AGREED TO AUSTRIAN REQUEST TO CHANGE THE VENUE OF PLENARY MEETINGS FROM THE HOFBURG TO THE IAEA BOARDROOM, GROUP ALSO CONSIDERED CURRENT PRESS POLICY IN VIEW OF FURTHER PRESS LEAKS FROM BRUSSELS AND IN LOCAL "DIE PRESSE" AND AGREED THAT SPOKESMAN SHOULD SAY THAT VIENNA OPERATIONS CONTINUING NORMALLY AND, IF ASKED, THAT NAC STILL TAKING STOCK OF OVERALL SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. BILATERALS, THE US REP REPORTED ON BILATERALS WITH SOVIET REP KVITSINSKIY AND ROMANIAN REP CONSTANTINESCU. ON 20 APRIL, KVITSINSKIY HAD TOLD US REP THAT HE WAS BEING RECALLED TO MOSCOW, PRESUMABLY TO AID IN PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO BONN. KVITSINSKIY ASKED ABOUT THAT STATUS OF NATO CONSIDERATION OF THE SOVIET PARTICIPATION PROPOSAL. USREP SAID HE COULD GIVE NO INFO. KVITSINSKIY SAID THE SOVIETS WOULD BE READY TO DISCUSS AGENDA AND COMMUNIQUE AS SOON AS THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM WAS RESOLVED, BUT SAID THAT MOSCOW PROBABLY WOULD AGREE ON A SPECIFIC DATE FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ONLY WHEN A FIRM DATE FOR THE FIRST PHASE OF CSCE HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED.

3. US REP REPORTED CONVERSATION ON 25 APRIL WITH ROMANIAN REP CONSTANTINESCU WHO SAID THAT THE PROPOSED PROCEDURES PAPER PLUS STATEMENTS HAD BEEN CONSIDERED AND APPROVED BY A FULL MEETING OF THE ROMANIAN CABINET. ON BASIS THAT MEETING, CONSTANTINESCU PLUMPED FOR TWO CHANGES IN THE TEXT, FIRST EITHER TO ELIMINATE PARA THREE WHICH LISTS THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS, OR, AS AN ALTERNATIVE, TO ELIMINATE THE ADJECTIVE "SPECIAL" USED TO DESCRIBE THE NON-DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. CONSTANTINESCU ALSO NOTED THE ROMANIAN DESIRE TO CHANGE THE UNILATERAL HUNGARIAN STATEMENT SO THAT IT WOULD SPECIFY THAT "SOME" OF THE SOCIALIST STATES HAD EXPRESSED THEIR VIEWS ON THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM, REFLECTING THE FACT THAT THE ROMANIANS HAD REMAINED SILENT ON THE ISSUE. US REP ASKED AD HOC GROUP FOR REACTION TO CONSTANTINESCU'S REQUEST, NOTING THAT IT REMAINED FOR THE ROMANIANS FIRST TO GET THE SOVIETS TO GO ALONG WITH THEIR PROPOSED CHANGES. THE GROUP CONSENSUS WAS THAT,

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WHILE THE ALLIES MIGHT BE DIVIDED ON THE QUESTION, THE SOVIETS PROBABLY WOULD NOT IN ANY CASE PERMIT REMOVAL OF PARA THREE OR MAKE OTHER CHANGE DESIRED. IF THE SOVIETS SHOULD, DESPITE THESE FORECASTS, TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO FOLLOW UP ON THE ROMANIAN REQUESTS, THEN THE WEST SHOULD CONSIDER THEIR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AND TRY TO GET SOME DESIRABLE CHANGES IN RETURN FOR ANY EASTERN SUGGESTIONS THAT ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ALLIES.

4. ORGANIZATION OF FUTURE WORK. THE GROUP, ON THE SUGGESTION OF THE CHAIRMAN (FRG REP RUTH), DECIDED THAT ALTHOUGH THE STATUS OF DELIBERATIONS IN BRUSSELS WAS UNCLEAR, IT SHOULD BEGIN PLANNING ON THE CONTINGENCY OF NAC APPROVAL OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED FIRST ON THE STATUS AND PLACEMENT OF THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS RELATIVE TO THE PROCEDURES PAPER. THE UK ACTING REP (JOHNSON) QUESTIONED WHETHER THE PROVISIONAL TEXT OF GUIDANCE BEING CONSIDERED BY THE NAC DIFFERED FROM THE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE EMISSARIES REPORT IN MENTIONING THAT THE STATEMENTS SHOULD BE " IN THE PACKAGE" RATHER THAN " IN THE PAPER."

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USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 /155 W
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P R 251604 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8563
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 333
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO II

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

THE US REP NOTED THAT THE EMISSARIES REPORT IN FACT HAD SUGGESTED THE PACKAGE TERMINOLOGY. HE SAID THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT REQUISITE IS THAT THE PROCEDURES PAPER AND THE STATEMENTS HAVE EQUAL

STATUS; IT IS NOT OF CARDINAL IMPORTANCE WHERE THE STATEMENTS APPEAR. US REP SUGGESTED THAT ONE POSSIBLE OUTCOME -- WHICH WAS A VARIANT OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A WRITTEN PROCEDURES PAPER AND ORAL STATEMENTS -- WOULD BE ORAL PRESENTATION OF BOTH THE PROCEDURES PAPER AND THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS AT THE FIRST PLENARY, WITH BOTH RECORDED IN THE CHAIRMAN' S REPORT OF THE SESSION.

THIS WOULD GIVE THE PAPER AND THE STATEMENTS EQUAL TREATMENT AND STANDING. THE CHAIRMAN SAID THIS WAS A USEFUL SUGGESTION AND PROPOSED THAT DISCUSSION OF THE SPECIFIC STATUS OF THE STATE-

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MENTS CONTINUE AFTER NAC GUIDANCE HAD BEEN RECEIVED.

5. THE US REP THEN TURNED THE DISCUSSION TO THE QUESTION OF HOW THE PACKAGE SHOULD BE HANDLED VIS A VIS THE PRESS, ONCE SOME FORMULA HAD BEEN AGREED ON. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) MIGHT HOLD A BACKGROUND BRIEFING FOR THE WESTERN PRESS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PLENARY SESSION. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF OBTAINING A FAVORABLE RECEPTION FOR THE OUTCOME IN WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION. THE BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) AGREED THAT THE PROCEDURES PAPER AND THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS SHOULD RECEIVE EQUAL TREATMENT, NO MATTER HOW THAT IS DONE. HE QUESTIONED,

HOWEVER, THE WISDOM OF PUBLICIZING THE PROCEDURES TEXT ITSELF, SUGGESTING THAT ILL- INTENTIONED JOURNALISTS WOULD TEAR IT TO PIECES. THE ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) DISAGREED, NOTING THAT PUBLICIZING THE PRECISE OUTCOME WOULD BE THE BEST WAY OF GETTING THE SOVIETS TO STAND BY THE AGREEMENT. HE SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES COULD ACCEPT THE APPROACH SUGGESTED BY THE US REP IN WHICH BOTH THE PAPER AND THE STATEMENTS WOULD BE RECORDED IN A PROTOCOL OR CHAIRMAN' S REPORT OF THE PLENARY PROCEEDINGS.

6. THE USREP STRESSED THAT A PRESS BACKGROUNDER SEEMS BOTH UNAVOIDABLE AND DESIRABLE. IF THE WEST GAVE ONLY A FAVORABLE DESCRIPTION OF THE OUTCOME WITHOUT SPECIFYING THE DETAILS OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER, THE EAST WOULD START FLOATING PIECES OF THE PAPER. HE ALSO NOTED THAT WHOEVER PRESENTED THE PROCEDURES PAPER AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION - PERHAPS ONE OF THE FOUR PARTICIPANTS IN THE QUADRILATERAL TALKS - SHOULD NOTE THAT THE PROCEDURES WOULD BE CARRIED OVER TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THIS TOO COULD BE RECORDED IN THE CHAIRMAN' S RECORD ALONG WITH THE CONTENT OF THE PAPER AND THE STATEMENTS. HE CONFIRMED, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE), THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER AND THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE FULLY AGREED WITH THE EAST IN ADVANCE OF THE PLENARY.

7. THE BELGIAN DEP REP THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHO WOULD SUBSCRIBE TO THE UNILATERAL WESTERN STATEME
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USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 /155 W
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P R 251604 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8564
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 334
US MISSION GENEVA 1911
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
URFHST/USDEL SALT TWO II 237

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FROM US REP MBFR

9. THE BELGIAN DEP REP NOTED THAT THE BELGIAN IDEA WAS TO BEGIN THE AGENDA DISCUSSIONS WITH A FULL PRESENTATION OF WESTERN DESIDERATA. HE CLAIMED THAT THE BELGIAN PERMREP TO NATO HAD NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ALLIED AGENDA ITEMS DID NOT GET INTO SUBSTANCE, BUT MERELY LISTED THE ASPECTS TO BE COVERED IN NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO NOTED THAT IF THE SOVIETS MAKE THE LINK TO CSCE, THE WEST WILL HAVE PLENTY OF TIME TO DISCUSS THE AGENDA IN VIENNA. THE US REP AGREED THAT THERE WAS SOME TIME, BUT POINTED OUT THAT COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING WOULD TAKE TIME AND THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT PURSUE INDEFINITELY A FRUITLESS DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA WITH THE EAST. HE ALSO SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE DANGEROUS TO HOLD THE AGENDA DISCUSSIONS IN PLENARIES, AS BOTH WEST AND EAST COULD

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GET LOCKED INTO PUBLIC POSITIONS AND FIND IT HARD TO BACK OFF TO ACCEPT SIMPLY AN AGREED DESCRIPTION OF THE TALKS. HE SUGGESTED

THAT MULTIPLE BILATERALS MIGHT BE THE BEST WAY TO HANDLE THE AGENDA DISCUSSION. THE ITALIAN AND TURKISH DEP REPS LATER EXPRESSED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR CONDUCTING AT LEAST SOME OF THE AGENDA DISCUSSIONS IN PLENARY SESSIONS.

10. THE ACTING UK REP ATTEMPTED TO CLARIFY THAT THE UK PROPOSAL FOR AN EXPEDITIOUS END TO THE VIENNA TALKS HAD BEEN MADE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO ACCEPTING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. IF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL SHOULD BE ACCEPTED, HIS AUTHORITIES MIGHT WANT TO HAVE A MORE AMBITIOUS GO AT THE AGENDA, PARTICULARLY IF THE CSCE JUNKTIM WOULD GUARANTEE MORE LENGTHY MBFR TALKS. THE US REP, SUMMARIZING THE DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUDED THAT THE ALLIES COULD BEGIN WITH AN ORTHODOX PRESENTATION OF THEIR AGENDA DESIRES, TAKE STOCK AFTER TWO WEEKS OR SO, AND THEN SWITCH TO AN ATTEMPT TO GET A SINGLE AGREED DESIGNATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER TO BE NEGOTIATED. NEGOTIATORS COULD THEN MOVE SMOOTHLY WITHOUT A BREAK INTO EFFORT TO DRAFT A COMMUNIQUE. THE MAIN ISSUE WAS NOT TO BREAK UP THE PROCESS UNNECESSARILY OR TO POSE ISSUES OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLE FOR DECISION BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER WHEN NONE WERE INVOLVED. THE CHAIRMAN NOTED THAT THE GROUP WOULD HAVE TO RETURN TO THE DISCUSSION AFTER RECEIVING NAC GUIDANCE ON TREATMENT OF THE AGENDA.

11. WITH REGARD TO THE AUSTRIAN REQUEST TO MOVE THE MBFR PLENARY SITE FROM THE HOFBURG TO THE IAEA BOARDROOM, THE REPS CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT THE SWITCH. THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVE ON SUCH QUESTIONS (WILLOT OF BELGIUM) WILL INDICATE ALLIED APPROVAL OF THE SWITCH TO THE AUSTRIANS WHILE REQUESTING THAT THE AUSTRIANS COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS ALREADY IDENTIFIED SUCH AS INADEQUATE PARKING AND THE DIFFICULTY OF SETTING UP SECURE TRANSLATION AND REPRODUCTION FACILITIES. THE CHAIRMAN ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE AUSTRIANS BE ASKED TO GIVE THE PRESS AN EXPLANATION OF THE PURELY TECHNICAL REASONS FOR THE CHANGE OF VENUE SO THAT THERE IS NO IMPRESSION OF DISSATISFACTION BY ANY PARTY.

12. THE GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED PRESS GUIDANCE, A NUMBER OF REPS NOTING THE DETAILED REPORTS NOW AVAILABLE ON THE STATUS OF NATO CONSIDERATION OF THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM-- FOR EXAMPLE, IN A REUTERS DISPATCH OUT OF BRUSSELS, AND A REPORT IN THE APRIL 25 DIE PRESSE. THE GROUP AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING LINE FOR THE
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ALLIED SPOKESMAN IN VIENNA. THE AD HOC GROUP IS CONTINUING ITS OPERATIONS AS USUAL, INCLUDING BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE EAST; IF ASKED, FURTHER QUADRILATERAL SESSIONS MAY BE HELD SOON; STOCKTAKING DISCUSSIONS ARE CONTINUING IN BRUSSELS. THE NEXT AD HOC SESSION WAS SCHEDULED FOR 1530 ON 26 APRIL. HUMES

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA03415
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730456/aaaajcjin.tel
Line Count: 329
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION MBFR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 02 NOV 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29-Aug-2001 by freemaal>; RELEASED <02-Nov-2001 by morefirh>; APPROVED <02-Nov-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 980209
Subject: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING - HIGHLIGHTS - 25 APRIL 1973
TAGS: PARM
To: MBFR
SECSTATE WASHDC INFO DOD
GENEVA
MULTIPLE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005